Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2146

CONFIDENTIAL DAR ES SALAAM 2621

NODIS/CHEROKEE

FOR SECRETARY AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFELE ONLY

E.O.11652: GDS TAGS: PFOR, UK, WA

SUBJECT: BRITISH EFFORTS ON NAMIBIA

REF: LUSAKA 1839

1. BRITISH-TANZANIAN MISUNDERSTANDING REPORTED REFTEL LEAVES ME BAFFLED. ON JULY 12, NYERERE MADE POINT OF SWAPO'S HAVING TO BE "DOMINANT" (IN PRESUMED CONTRAST TO "SOLE") ORGANIZATION AT NEW CONFERENCE (DAR ES SALAAM 2544). HE HAS REPEATEDLY INDICATED HE THINKS HE HAS SWAPO'S AGREEMENT "NOT TO EXCLUDE" TRIBAL ELEMENTS. HIS COMPLAINT TO ME JULY 16 ABOUT BRITISH ENVOY REITH'S MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER KADUMA IN LUSAKA WAS NOT BASED ON WHETHER OR NOT TRIBAL ELEMENTS WOULD BE INCLUDED AT PROPOSED LUSAKA CONFERENCE BUT ON REITH'S ALLEGED FAILURE TO RECOGNIZE THAT SOUTH AFRICAN REPRESENTATIVES MUST BE THERE ALSO.

2. BRITISH DESCRIPTION OF KADUMA'S JUNE 17 EEC AMBASSADORS' BRIEFING AS REPORTED PARA 2 REFTEL PARALLELS BUT DOES NOT EXACTLY JIBE WITH WHAT NYERERE TOLD ME EARLIER NOR WITH WHAT EEC AMBASSADORS HERE TOLD ME AT TIME. APART FROM WHAT MAY BE TYPO IN PARA 2(C) REFTEL (TANZANIANS HAVE BEEN STRESSING THAT SOUTH AFRICA DOES HAVE RATHER THAN THAT IT DOES NOT HAVE POWER IN NAMIBIA), TANZANIANS DID NOT TO BEST MY KNOWLEDGE SAY "SWAPO WOULD DROP ITS CLAIM TO BE SOLE REPRESENTATIVE OF PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA." TANGOV POSITION HAS BEEN THAT IT COULD AND WOULD CONFIDENTIAL

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ENCOURAGE SWAPO "NOT TO TRY TO EXCLUDE" OTHER ELEMENTS. IT HAS

ALSO INSISTED ON UN INVOLVEMENT, WHICH NYERERE STRESSED AGAIN IN HIS JULY 16 CONFERENCE WITH ME.

3. IN SUM, KADUMA-REITH CONVERSATION IN LUSAKA MAY REFLECT TANZANIAN BACKTRACKING FROM HAVING GOTTEN OUT ON LIMB WITH SWAPO. IT COULD ALSO REPRESENT BRITISH FAILURE (PERHAPS AIDED BY KADUMA'S LIMITED ELOQUENCE) TO UNDERSTAND THAT NYERERE FEELS THAT "ACT OF WILL" BY SOUTH AFRICA TO LET GO OF NAMIBIA IS ESSENTIAL AND THAT THIS MUST SOMEHOW OR OTHER BE MADE MANIFEST BY DIRECT SOUTH AFRICAN NEGOTIATIONS WITH SWAPO. NYERERE ALMOST CERTAINLY ENVISAGED THIS AS HAPPENING AT PROPOSED LUSAKA CONFERENCE, ALTHOUGH HE MAY NEVER HAVE SAID SO IN SO MANY WORDS BEFORE HIS JULY 16 CONVERSATION WITH ME.

4. WHATEVER HAPPENED, IT IS PROBABLY GOOD THING THAT SOMEWHAT CLUMSY BRITISH EFFORTS ON NAMIBIA HAVE RETURNED TO "SQUARE ONE" AND BEEN ABANDONED (REFTEL). UNLESS INSTRUCTED TO CONTRARY, I INTEND STAY ENTIRELY CLEAR OF SUBJECT HERE. SPAIN

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